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ABSTRACT

A content analysis of selected issues of "Life" magazine was conducted to explore the way in which that magazine portrayed the black community in the United States. All 52 issues within each of eight years (1937, 1942, 1947, 1952, 1957, 1962, 1967, and 1972) were analyzed. Beyond tabulation of frequency and amount of coverage, each instance of black coverage was placed in categories reflecting the dominant themes of crime, entertainment, sports, social commentary, everyday life, news events, a prominent person being honored, advertising, and cover appearance or illustration. Coverage of blacks failed to develop over time, varying markedly according to the dictates of the relevance of individual news incidents or achievements for the broader American society. Everyday life remained a consistently low proportion of the total black coverage, which itself never was more than three percent of the magazine's total content. It appeared that coverage that fell into the social commentary, crime, and everyday categories was focused on blacks more as members of their race, while coverage that fell into the entertainment and sports categories was focused as much on their roles. Of the already small share of coverage of blacks, all but a few pages highlighted black Americans who had achieved prominence in the areas of politics, entertainment, sports, or protest activities. (Author/RL)

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LIFE IN BLACK AND WHITE: COVERAGE OF BLACK AMERICA BY LIFE MAGAZINE, 1937-1972

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Life in Black and White: Coverage of Black America

by Life Magazine, 1937-1972

From its first issue in November, 1936 and throughout all its 1,864 issues, Life magazine portrayed the contemporary scene as it recorded and commented upon both the unexpected and the mundane moments in America.

In the prospectus for the magazine, its founder, Henry Luce, wrote that its purpose would be,

> To see life; to see the world; to eyewitness great events; to watch the faces of the poor and the gestures of the proud. . . to see and be instructed.[1]

The impact was great. Life covered a panorama of American experience and presented it in popular, large-page photographic format. For millions of Americans, these images helped form reality.

In the final issue, December 29, 1972, managing editor Ralph Graves wrote, "We tried to talk to you across all barriers and special interests . . . (not as)blacks or whites. We wanted to talk to you as people who share the common experience of humanity."[2]

According to its editors, the magazine recorded "the memorable moments of contemporary history . . .It offered the very essence of the era.[3]

But what impression did this mass magazine convey to its readers concerning black Americans? Did this week by week record present any on-going story of black life? Magazines both reflect the context of their society and serve as a socializing force within that society. This paper explores the view of the black community in the Unted States as portrayed in Life between 1937 and 1972.

Both type and frequency of coverage contribute to the understanding and socialization of the reader to the differing segments of society and the issues which affect them. While visibility prompts awareness, the subject and type of coverage influence the impression of that segment's place in society.

Equally important may be the impact of cumulative coverage over time.

In a 1968 report, the Kerner Commission faulted the media for the exclusion of black everyday life. Commenting on the influence on both white and black society, the Commission noted,

> If what the white American reads in the newspaper or sees on television conditions his expectations of what is ordinary and normal in the larger society, he will neither understand nor accept the black American. By failing to portray the Negro as a matter of routine and in the context of the total society, the news media have, we believe, contributed to the black-white schism in this country.[4]

While the Commission primarily studied coverage in newspapers and television, the question of black inclusion is equally pertinent for a pictorial mass magazine.

In discussing the treatment of black America, Life's editors wrote,

> From the brutal lynching of a helpless Southerner in 1937 to the iron defiance of Angela Davis in 1970, Life's attention to the black struggle for equality comprises a powerful photographic record of the most important social movement of 20th Century America.[5]

What prompted Life's coverage of the black American? What information about him was available to the reader of this magazine? Did Life coverage of the black community reflect everyday life or was it a response to the obvious interaction of the black American with the broader society?

This study set out to answer these questions concerning both the amount and type of black coverage in Life:

1. Did the proportion of black coverage increase over time?
2. Did the subject/type of black coverage change over time?
3. What were the dominant subject/types of black coverage in Life at differing periods?
4. Could differences in amount and subject/type of coverage be attributed to increased visibility of black Americans in the broader society?

5. Is coverage of the black American racially-based or role-based?

It was felt that there might be an increase in amount and a change in subject/type of coverage during times of increased visibility and/or acceptance of blacks in the broader society and that the interaction of the black American with the values and economic system of the broader society would be a catalyst for coverage.

Related Studies

Several studies have addressed the coverage and visibility of blacks in the general media during the period of the 1960s.

Stempel studied news-editorial and advertising pictures in five magazines during the first ten weeks of 1960 and 1970 and found a significant decrease in 1970 of newspictures with whites only and a corresponding rise in black visibility.[6] Advertising pictures with whites only were significantly higher than news pictures with whites only in all the magazines. Lacking comparative data from the other news media, he nonetheless raised the question, "Is this enough visibility?"[7]

A 1965 study by Verdelle Lambert was concerned with both "frequency and kind of Negro exposure" in Look magazine in two one-year periods, November to December 1959-60 and the same time period in 1963-64.[8] Using a content analysis method, Lambert rated the coverage as to favorability and slant or balance. He also categorized articles on a racial or non-racial basis. Finding 60 percent of the articles in 1959-60 non-racial, he concluded, "Look is more likely to treat the Negro not as a Negro, but as a member of society."[9]

Lambert concluded that "by 1964, the articles were definitely more favorable,"[10] His hypothesis that the 1959-60 coverage would not include any Negroes who were not nationally known or criminals, while the 1963-64

coverage would seldom include a Negro except in a racially based story was generally substantiated. Thus,Lambert perceived an increase in acceptance and coverage of the black American as a member of the broader society in this magazine.

In a 1967 study, "Negro Image in the Mass Media," Royal Colle wrote,

> While the real world has made but faltering progress toward integrating the Negro into the mainstream of American life, the fantasy world--that exhibited primarily by the mass media--is portraying him as a full-fledged member of society.[11]

Concerned with change in the Negro image in television and motion pictures, Colle's case study found that

> . . . by the mid-1960's, changes were conspicuous to even the casual observer. Magazines, motion pictures, advertisements and television programs integrated their content . . . ."[12]

Colle found the impact on black Americans in terms of their public image to be the most important result of this change.

Advertising and the black American provided the focus of many studies. Early work by Kassajarian found a curvilinear relationship in frequency of ads including blacks in 1946, 1956 and 1965, with a linear increase of blacks portrayed in higher status occupations.[13]

Berkman compared advertising in Ebony and Life and found that a difference in advertising appeals in the two were based on the "differential socio-economic status" of the readership groups.[14]

Geizer compared the 1960 data from Ebony used in the Berkman study to 1969 Ebony advertisements and found greater frequency in dark-skinned black models, in mixed-model advertisements, in 1969, along with less frequency of white-only model.[15]

A 1965 study by Boyenton, however, examined progress in use of Negro models in advertising and suggested that there was a drop-off in the use of blacks in 1964 as compared to 1963.[16]

A recent study by Reid and Vanden Bergh explored the use of blacks in introductory advertising and concluded that "the total number of ads portraying blacks in the magazines studied was quite small."[17] As Reid and Vanden Bergh noted, "This finding appears somewhat contradictory to studies cited which found evidence of an increased effort by advertisers to integrate more blacks into their advertising." [18]

Methodology

All 52 issues within each of eight years were content analyzed to identify each instance where a black American appeared in Life magazine. The years chosen were: 1937, 1942, 1947, 1952, 1957, 1962, 1967, and 1972. In this way the entire life span of the magazine was measured, using five year increments. By incorporating both 1937 and 1972, both the first and last full years of Life were included.

1942 marked the year of massive recruitment of blacks for the World War II military force: 1957 was the year of the Little Rock school battles, and 1962 the year James Meredith attempted to enroll in the Univerarity of Mississippi. By specifically using these three pivotal years, it was possible to measure the influence of these visible news incidents on both the amount and type of coverage provided by Life.

The unit of analysis was the page rather than the story; it was felt that the cumulative number of pages plays an important role in the impression received by the reader. In reviewing the number of pages comprising issues of Life in varying years, it did not appear that the amount was sensitive to external problems such as newsprint shortages.

Tabulations were made of the number of pages of black coverage in each issue for each of the years studied. If the black coverage was a partial page, the proportion was noted. If the presence of blacks was as background and not part of the central focus of the coverage, the page or fraction was

noted; however, the coverage was then tabulated as background in the subject categorizaition. If the black coverage extended for three pages of an eight page article, the coverage was tabulated at three.

Tabulations were made for both the total number of pages for each year and the number of issues per year in which there was no black coverage.

Separate tabulation was made of letters, editorials and reviews Vignettes (small pictures 1/8 page or less) were not included in page tabulation, but noted in the raw data. Advertisements were tabulated separately, as were covers.

Beyond tabulation of frequency and amount of coverage, each instance of black coverage was placed in a content category. The categories were:

1. Crime. Coverage of both the accused and victims were placed in this category if the emphasis of the coverage was crime-related.

2. Entertainment. Coverage of entertainers, the arts and models.

3. Sports. Athletes and events.

4. Social Commentary. Into this broad category was placed coverage of integration/discrimination,poverty, education, politics and the military. The criterion was that the coverage was primarily concerned with the place of the black American in society.

5. Social or everyday life.

6. News events/pictures, which included black Americans as background, but in which being black did not dictate the focus of the coverage.

7. Prominent person honored.

8. Advertising.

9. Covers

The dominant theme dictated placement by subject in the case of a story that could be fit into more than one category.

Only coverage of black Americans was tabulated. Coverage of black foreigners, such as African tribespeople, was not included, although tabulation was made of coverage of black Americans in other countries.

Findings

Black coverage failed to show a linear increase over time, although the method of using eight separate censuses rather than sampling makes statistical measurement of this trend non-applicable.

The real differences for the years examined are shown. What did vary markedly in these years was the proportion of coverage in subject categories and the sensitivity of these to both the increased visibility and the interaction of the black American with the broader society. (See Tables 1 and 2)

Total coverage was responsive to these visibility factors in the later but not the earlier years. Despite a strong effort by the government to recruit blacks into the military and war-related activities, the amount of coverage actually decreased in 1942 as compared to 1937. What coverage there was did reflect the war activity. Of the 27.4 pages of total coverage, 19.75 pages concerned military activities, and 2.0 concerned discrimination not related directly to the military. 83 percent of the total pages, then, fell into the combined social commentary category. Of more interest than the numbers, however, is the patriotic and encouraging tone of the black military coverage, which is documented in the discussion section of the paper.

The social commentary category formed only 10 percent in 1937 and 11 percent in 1947. Including the military coverage in this category admittedly inflated it in 1942.

The amount of coverage, total page proportion and percentage of issues carrying black coverage in 1947 was lowest of all eight years tabulated, despite the heightened visibility of the black American during the World War II years.[19] This corroborates other research on the failure of the blacks' war effort to earn them a lasting position in the broader society. An indication of the relegation of blacks to a traditional role may be seen in the contrast

between a patriotic Kodak double-page advertisement showing a mixed group of children (1942) and the "black as butler" portrayal in the one 1947 ad - for Walker's Deluxe Bourbon. (See Table 3)

The Little Rock incidents again inflated the social commentary category (to 64 percent of the total black coverage) and pushed total black coverage to a 1% level in the overall magazine. This sensitivity was not as pronounced in 1962, despite the news-making enrollment of James Meredith at Mississippi. The social commentary category rose in 1967 again due to extensive coverage of education in the South in a nineteen-page article. The amount of total black coverage did show a change in 1967 and 1972 when compared to 1962. In 1972, black coverage was 2.7 percent of the total black and mixed advertising had jumped seven-fold from previous totals[20] and coverage was rather evenly distributed between social commentary, entertainment, sports and crime. (See Table 4)

It should be noted, however, that the everyday life remained a consistently low proportion of the total black coverage. In fact, the year that provided the greatest proportion of coverage in this category remained 1937. The content of that coverage is discussed in the following section.

Discussion

In working toward an understanding of the influence Life may have had in socializing its readers toward black Americans, it is necessary to look beyond the enumeration and categorization to what was actually portrayed and written in the magazine during the years studied.

Black Americans appeared on two Life covers in 1937. Both were stereotypical summer scenes: Black children playing in an open city fire hydrant; a black man driving a load of watermelons to market.[21]

The watermelon theme was featured in another summer issue: A photograph showed a black woman eating watermelon while nursing her child. The cutline pointed out,

> Nothing makes a Negro's mouth water like a luscious fresh-picked melon. Any colored 'mammy' can hold a huge slice in one hand while holding her offspring in the other. Since the watermelon is 92% water, tremendous quantities can be eaten . . . what melon the Negroes do not consume will find favor with the pigs.[22]

Life photographed a black debutante ball in December and featured it as a 'Life Goes to a Party' feature. Its coverage of the event said,

> All of the girls must be of impeccable family and serious character . . . their jobs are more impressive than many a white assembly. All are college graduates or students . . . those attending are sober, educated Negroes, whose occupations range from plumber and embalmer to chaplain and editor.[23]

This copy drew both praise and complaint from readers. As reprinted in the letters column two weeks later, one woman wrote to thank magazine for showing the fine side of her people." A Connecticut reader wrote, "Bravo to Life for Sportsmanlike presentation of the colored society ball." Two Southern writers disagreed with both the coverage and these views. One wrote, "Your Negro pictures were not only uninteresting, but repulsive to the majority fo your Southern readers. Mr. and Mrs. are not terms applied to Negroes here." Another was even more terse: "I didn't know that Life went to a nigger party."[24]

Entertainment-related coverage provided 20 percent in 1937. Writing about Marian Anderson, Life commented, "A quiet, unassuming Negro, Miss Anderson speaks four languages . . . (her) father was an ice and coal vendor; her mother took in washing and house cleaning."[25] The article contained praise of her talent from both European and American critics. Coverage was also included of a black guitarist, 'Lead Belly,' a pardoned murderer. A photograph of his hands on the guitar was captioned, "These Hands have killed a Man."[26]

The majority of the 1942 coverage was war-related, as might be expected. In the same February issue, a photo story on the Homestead in Virginia

showed a black waiter carrying a tray on his head and black enlisted men laying track at a military base. Of the former, the magazine said, "Guests often bet hundreds of dollars on favorite waiters in the hotel's annual outdoor waiter's tray race.[27]

As the year went on, the movement of blacks into the military life was stressed. A two-page spread in March was titled, "Negro Pilots Get Wings." The copy pointed out,

> White instructors agree that their Negro charges, by virtue of their exceptional eyesight, courage and coordination, will prove crack combat pilots. Upon their performance and promise hang the hopes of additional thousands of aspiring Negro fliers throughout the land.[28]

Life continued to feature the black in the war effort. An eleven-page article in June admitted,

> It is true that U.S. Negroes have never had a square deal from the U.S. white majority, but they know their lot would be far worse under the racial fanatics of the Axis. Now, when their country needs them, they are glad to work and die alongside their fellow white citizens.[29]

Copy like this appeared to be directed as much toward the goal of convincing white fighting men of the worth of the black soldier as to convincing the prospective black soldiers themselves.

1947 carried a greater proportion of everyday life than most years, which reflected the three-page inclusion of a story on a black beach and a two-page spread of the streets of New York.[31]

1952 coverage featured both an article on Life photographer Gordon Parks' musical compositions and on a play, "The Invisible Man," by an author who was Parks' friend.[32] This same year a political editorial on the white supremacy issue at the conventions stated:

> Thanks in part to the New Deal, but mostly to the wiser dispersal of the Negro population, America's No. 1 social problem has lost its regional distortion. The majority of Southerners now think like the majority of Northerners on the race question (and know more about it.)[34]

In both 1957 and 1962, Life coverage of the school integration incidents in Little Rock and Mississippi was extensive. These stories were carried as news, although additional feature stories on the wider social problem were included. In each of these years, the magazine wrote from a positive, establishment stand. A 1957 article on the Negro in the North stated,

> The North has done more for Negro dignity than the South. In the past 13 years, Negroes have advanced faster than in any previous time and their political equality is now assured.[35]

While treating Meredith's attempt to enroll at the University of Mississippi as news, Life noted that "the U.S. faced potentially the most explosive defiance of its supremacy since the Civil War,"[36] and deemed the Mississippi incident "a disgrace to themselves, their state and their nation."[37] In the same year, however, the magazine ran no coverage of everyday life.

It was not until 1967 (in the time periods studied) that social coverage of contemporary black life appeared to break away from the immediate tie-in to current news events. A nineteen-page article investigated education in the South and reported,

> Negroes have hardly taken over Little Rock's Central High. Nine came that day in 1957 and now they make up about 18% of the school's 2200 students. They are not accepted fully in a social sense, but they are denied none of the school's facilities.[38]

Life chronicled the progress of integration on the playing field, and noted,

> There is a wider acceptance of Negroes in athletics than in any other field, for their ability is an asset to the whole school.[39]

The establishment stance reappeared, however, in the following cutline comment, accompanying an archery class photo,

> Like most Negro children, Patricia had never used a bow, but is a good athlete and caught on quickly.[40]

And the editor's note in the education issue commented,

> There are still plenty of problems and inequities. . . But today there is a new South. For the first time it is seriously interested in educating all its children, and the Negro is taking his place in it.[41]

In its last year, 1972, Life coverage of black America was distributed between social commentary, entertainment, sports and crime. Advertising jumped dramatically, with the majority of the ads showing mixed pictures. Both Diana Ross and Wilt Chamberlain were cover subjects.

A resolve for the continuing work toward equality was reflected in the words of a relative of a black soldier killed in Vietnam: ". . .my hope is that some of the energy and money will now be available. . .for personal problems at home."[42] It was also reflected in a quote from Jerome Holland, first black director of the New York Stock Exchange, who was quoted as saying, ". . . this is the same Negro who couldn't even get a job interview in 1939. . . Look at me. . .My grandparents were slaves."[43]

Two articles, on childhood learning and urban problems, portrayed these as shared problems across society, using both black and white people as examples. Overall, 1972 coverage reflected a struggling dichotomy of life in America, but failed to portray the everyday existence of the black members of its society.

Conclusion

Coverage appeared closely related to the interaction of the black American with the wider society in the years studied.

Variations in both amount and subject of coverage seemed to be dictated by the relevance of individual news incidents or achievements for that society. Thus, the social commentary category dominated at the times of school integration and civil rights activities. Sports and entertainment, the two traditional entries into the white world, received coverage when the successes of the black stars called attention to their talents.

While the sharp increase in coverage in 1967 and again in 1972 might well

be attributed to the increased visibility of the black American in society at that time, much of the 1967 coverage continued to treat him as separate from the broader society. Two articles, one on childhood learning and the other on urban living, did address these difficulties as symptomatic of society as a whole, as opposed to isolating them as specific black problems.

By 1972, Life's last year, there appeared to be some increased integration of the black American into general coverage with mixed groups. The amount remained small. The social commentary category was less than in 1967, although still one-third; coverage was more broadly distributed between the categories. The advertisements portrayed the black American in sports, as working and as a professional. Nineteen of the twenty-nine pages of advertising showing blacks portrayed mixed groups.

With the exception of 1937, coverage of black everyday life was markedly absent. While it could be argued that discrimination, poor schooling and economic struggle were components of that everyday life, the timing of much of this coverage coincided with an encroachment of these problems upon the broader society. They were not presented as part of a day by day record. Coverage of events such as the black debutante ball and the Memphis Beale Street Cotton Picker's Carnival in 1937 might be explained as an initial thrust by the magazine to cover a diverse range of American activities.

It appeared thatcoverage which fell into the social commentary, crime and social life/everyday life categories was focused on blacks more as members of their race, while coverage which fell into the entertainment and sports categories was focused as much on their roles. Even as late as 1972, however, it was difficult to separate these two areas in much of the material.

Despite an increase following the Civil Rights movement, coverage of black America constituted a minute portion of Life's content. The highest level of coverage, in 1972, remained at less than three percent. Of this

already small share, all but a few pages highlighted black Americans who had achieved prominence in the areas of politics, entertainment, sports or through social protest activities.

While the increased proportions of coverage show response to the increased visibility, Life failed to provide its mass audience with an opportunity for exposure to the everyday life of black America.

TABLE 1

COVERAGE OF BLACK AMERICANS AS A PRECENTAGE OF TOTAL COVERAGE

Year	Total Pages	Total Pages* Black Coverage	Black Coverage as percentage of Total
1937	4968	32.23	.006
1942	5914	25.90	.004
1947	7072	22.25	.003
1952	7746	32.00	.004
1957	7578	87.24	.011
1962	5844	53.08	.009
1967	5466	94.74	.017
1972	4136	115.74	.027

*Excluding advertisements and covers

TABLE 2

TOTAL BLACK COVERAGE FOR EACH YEAR BY CONTENT CATEGORY

Year Pages	Social Commentary	Entertainment	Sports	Crime	Social/ Everyday	Back-ground	Prominent Person
1937	.108	.204	.093	.087	.305	.155	.046
(32.23)	(3.50)	(6.58)	(3.0)	(2.83)	(9.82)	(5.00)	(1.50)
1942	.839	.116	——	——	.006	.039	——
(25.90)	(21.74)	(3.0)	(0)	(0)	(.16)	(1.0)	(0)
1947	.112	.089	.045	.292	.179	.292	——
(22.50)	(2.5)	(2.0)	(1.0)	(6.5)	(4.0)	(6.5)	(0)
1952	.296	.304	.226	——	——	.172	——
(32.0)	(9.5)	(9.75)	(7.25)	(0)	(0)	(5.5)	(0)
1957	.644	.080	.232	——	——	.042	——
(87.24)	(56.25)	(7.0)	(20.25)	(0)	(0)	(3.74)	(0)
1962	.430	.254	.202	.113	——	——	——
(53.08)	(22.83)	(13.50)	(10.75)	(6.0)	(0)	(0)	(0)
1967	.552	.084	.248	.063	.014	.038	——
(94.74)	(52.33)	(8.0)	(23.50)	(6.0)	(1.33)	(3.58)	(0)
1972	.291	.277	.211	.171	——	.042	.004
(115.74)	(33.75)	(32.16)	(24.48)	(19.89)	(0)	(4.96)	(.50)

TABLE 3

PROPORTION OF ISSUES BY YEAR WITH COVERAGE AND/OR WITH COVERS PERTAINING TO BLACK AMERICANS

Year	Total Issues with Any Coverage	Total Covers
1937	27/52 (.52)	2/52
1942	18/52 (.35)	0/52
1947	13/52 (.25)	0/52
1952	15/52 (.29)	0/52
1957	23/52 (.45)	1/52
1962	19/51 (.37)	1/52
1967	24/51 (.47)	1/51
1972	42/50 (.84)	3/50

TABLE 4

TOTAL PAGES OF ADVERTISING SHOWING A BLACK AMERICAN BY YEAR

1937	2
1942	2
1947	1
1952	9
1957	2
1962	1
1967	4
1972	29

Footnotes

[1]Henry R. Luce, prospectus for Life, 1936. As quoted in The Best of Life, ed. David Scherman (New York: Avon Books, 1975), p. 2.

[2]Ralph Graves, "With Pride and Affection," Life, December 29, 1972, p. 2.

[3]The Best of Life, p. 7.

[4]Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, (New York: Bantam, 1968), p. 383.

[5]The Best of Life, p. 140.

[6]Guido H. Stempel III, "Visibility of Blacks in News and News-Picture Magazines," Journalism Quarterly, 48 (Summer, 1971), p. 339.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Verdelle Lambert, "Negro Exposure in Look's Editorial Content," Journalism Quarterly, 41 (Autumn, 1964), 657.

[9]Ibid., p. 659.

[10]Ibid.

[11]Royal D. Colle, "Negro Image in the Mass Media," Journalism Quarterly, 45 (Spring, 1968), p. 55.

[12]Ibid.

[13]Harold H. Kassajarian, "The Negro and American Advertising," Journal of Marketing Research, 6 (February, 1969), p. 33.

[14]David Berkman, "Advertising in Ebony and Life: Negro Aspirations vs. Reality," Journalism Quarterly, 40 (Winter, 1963), p. 52.

[15]Ronald Geizer, "Advertising in Ebony: 1960 and 1969, Journalism Quarterly, 48 (Spring, 1971), p. 133.

[16]William H. Boyenton, "The Negro Turns to Advertising," Journalism Quarterly, 42 (Spring, 1965), p. 233.

[17]Leonard N. Reid and Bruce G. Vanden Bergh, "Blacks in Introductory Ads," Journalism Quarterly, 57 (Autumn, 1980), p. 487.

[18]Ibid.

[19]The percentage total of .003 in 1947 differs only .001 from 1942 and 1952. However, there were only 22.25 pages of coverage in 7072 related to blacks in any way. This figure included a five-page article on prisons, which showed blacks on every page, but was not otherwise about black life.

[20]1952 did have nine advertisements showing blacks, but seven of the nine were the same Walker'd DeLuxe Bourbon advertisement.

[21]*Life* covers: July 19, 1937; August 9, 1937.

[22]*Life*, August 9, 1937, p. 52.

[23]*Life*, December 6, 1937, p. 88.

[24]*Life*, December 21, 1937, p. 4.

[25]*Life*, February 22, 1937, p. 20.

[26]*Life*, April 19, 1937, p. 39.

[27]*Life*, February 16, 1942, p. 70.

[28]*Life*, March 23, 1942, p. 31.

[29]Ibid.

[30]"A Fine Day at the Beach," *Life*, August 18, 1947, p. 115.

[31]*Life*, October 13, 1947, p. 16.

[32]*Life*, July 28, 1952, p. 85.

[33]*Life*, August 25, 1952, p. 9.

[34]*Life*, August 4, 1952, p. 30.

[35]"The Negro and the North," *Life*, March 11, 1957, p. 151.

[36]*Life*, October 5, 1962, p. 3.

[37]"Let Old Glory Wave Alone Over Ole Miss," *Life*, October 12, 1962, p. 6.

[38]Negro Education in the South," *Life*, September 29, 1967, p. 60.

[39]Ibid., p. 63.

[40]Ibid.

[41]Editor's Note, *Life*, September 29, 1967, p. 3.

[42]*Life*, November 10, 1972, p. 44.

[43]*Life*, October 6, 1972, p. 85.

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